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"Whereas, The delegates to the International Conference of the American States, believing that public sentiment in the Republics represented by them is constantly growing in the direction of heartily favoring the widest application of the principles of arbitration; that the American Republics, controlled alike by the principles and responsibilities of popular government and bound together by increasing mutual interests, can, by their own actions, maintain the peace in the continent, and that permanent peace between them will be the forerunner and harbinger of their natural development and of the happiness and commercial greatness of their peoples;

"They have therefore agreed upon the following

PROJECT.

"Article I. The American Republics represented at the International Conference of American States in Mexico, which have not subscribed to the three Conventions signed at The Hague on the 29th of July, 1899, hereby recognize as a part of public international American law the principles set forth therein.

"Art. II. With respect to the Conventions which are of an open character, the adherence thereto will be communicated to the government of Holland, through diplomatic channels, by the respective governments, upon the ratification thereof.

"Art. III. The wide general convenience being so clearly apparent that would be secured by confiding the solution of differences to be submitted to arbitration to the jurisdiction of a tribunal of so high a character as that of the Arbitration Court at The Hague, and also that the American nations not now signatory to the Convention creating that beneficent institution can become adherents thereto by virtue of an accepted and recognized right; and further, taking into consideration the offer of the governments of the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, the Conference hereby confers upon said governments the authority to negotiate with the other powers signatory to the Convention for the peaceful adjustment of international differences and for the adherence thereto of the American nations so requesting and not now signatory to the said Convention.

"Art. IV. In order that the widest and most unrestricted application of the principle of just arbitration may be satisfactorily and definitely brought about at the earliest possible day, and to the end that the most advanced and mutually advantageous form in which the said principle can be expressed in a convention to be signed between the American Republics may be fully ascertained, the President of Mexico is hereby most respectfully requested to ascertain by careful investigation the views of the different governments represented in the Conference regarding the most advanced form in which a general arbitration convention could be drawn that would meet with the approval and secure the final ratification of all of the countries in the Conference, and, after the conclusion of his inquiry, to prepare a plan for such a general convention as would apparently meet the wishes of all the Republics, and, if possible, arrange for a series of protocols to carry the plan into execution; or, if this should be found to be impracticable, then to present the correspondence with a report to the next Conference."

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the arbitration work of the Conference at Mexico, a protocol of adherence to the Hague Conventions and their acceptance as principles of American international law; a request to the President of the Republic of Mexico to see if there was any step beyond that to which the American Republics

would go; and, in addition to that protocol, the signing of an agreement on the part of ten nations obligating themselves to go to that tribunal and settle their differences; and also an agreement in which nineteen nations joined to go to the same tribunal and adjust pecuniary claims — those miserable things which do so much at times to stir up ill-feeling between nations and which are the cause sometimes of open rupture.

These three things, in my judgment, should rank, and will rank, the Mexican Conference as the most remarkable conference held. For the first time — and I believe it is an omen of good fortune — for the first time the nineteen Republics of this hemisphere stood united, as you have seen, not only upon these principles, but upon questions of quarantine and sanitation and on other questions of national importance to every one of us.

## Address of Dr. Edward Everett Hale.

### The Present Position of the International Tribunal.

I am very grateful, indeed, to have an opportunity to speak for a few minutes. I want to express to Mr. Buchanan more than the thanks of this audience. I want to convey to him the thanks of America for the work which he and his fellow-delegates have done in Mexico [Applause]; a work which he must permit me to say is a monument to American skill and American diplomacy; a work which from day to day has shown the wisdom of well-trained Americans in the cause of international justice as no other work which I remember in the history of America, except the work of our delegates at The Hague.

Mr. Paine has intimated that this assembly likes to hear from time to time of the position of the great international tribunal of the world, — a tribunal which exists for something more than peace, even; it exists for "international justice." That is the better phrase. The movement which led to the great Hague Conference and to the three Hague Conventions is a movement for justice between nations. It prevents war — yes! It prevents also a great many other things. We do not call our Supreme Court a peace tribunal: we call it the Supreme Court of Justice; and that is what the court at The Hague is.

Now, that the nineteen States represented at Mexico (every State on this continent except the unfortunate Dominion of Canada), — that this Congress should have acceded to the work of the great Conference at The Hague is easily the largest and greatest tribute which in so short a time could have been rendered to the wisdom of the statesman who brought the Hague tribunal into being. And those persons who are profoundly interested in the work of the Hague tribunal accept this tribute of this half of the world. It is a more important verdict than anybody would have supposed could be rendered, that one hundred and twenty million people by their competent representatives should have pronounced their approval of the great measure with which the nineteenth century closed.

I am perfectly well aware — one cannot live in Massachusetts without being aware — that there has been

quite enough of sneering and ridicule because we have not heard more of the great Hague Conference in its results. There are occasions when "the less noise the better," and there are successes which are the greater because they are not heralded from hour to hour by the crickets or the grasshoppers of the day. And this is one of them! [Applause.] We find a parallel of this silence in the history of the Supreme Court of the United States, the great precedent to the Supreme Court of Nations. The Supreme Court of the United States was hardly mentioned in any history of America for the first three or four years of its existence. It had nine quarterly sessions—for two years and three months—before it decided any question whatever between two States of America. Was there no use in the Supreme Court for that time? It was adjusting questions all the time that were not brought before it—questions that were settled because there was a Supreme Court and men did not dare to bring them before it. And that is exactly the history of the Hague Court. In the quiet of the last two years case after case has been settled because the disputants did not dare to bring it before that high tribunal. Courts are much more valuable in what they do not do than in what they do.

I have in former years imagined the possible cases by which the practical efficiency of the Hague tribunal might begin. I confess I never imagined anything quite as humble as the issue in the particular case of which I am about to tell you. On the other hand, Mr. President, no case could have arisen more gratifying to me personally. The people who sit before me, the people of Boston and Massachusetts and the Northern States, had come to the relief of the Boer prisoners in the Bermudas. The Alva of the nineteenth century, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, had chosen to send to the Bermudas thirty-five hundred prisoners of war,—some of whom are boys of eight years old, and some old gentlemen still active at eighty. [Laughter.] Well, great nations move slowly, and there were a good many things these people wanted. The New England people and the New York people were glad to take hold, and the Lend-a-Hand Society was able at once to send out what was asked for in the shape of clothing and some canned food and other things. When these things got to the Bermudas the custom house officials said, "You must pay the regular five per cent. duty on the clothing." So our consignees there paid the five per cent duty, amounting to some \$35, these things were sent round where they were wanted, and the Boer people sent us a most touching letter of thanks.

It was just then that somebody in Bermuda had the wit to observe that in the sixteenth article of the second Hague Convention it was provided that whenever clothing was sent to prisoners of war that clothing must be admitted free of duty, and the government that received it must send it free of charge to the prisoners themselves. Well, we had paid the duty, and our friends the Englishmen in Bermuda called the attention of the governor to the fact. The poor governor (I have felt sorry for him ever since) was extremely mortified. He said that the matter was new and that his officers had not been instructed in the second Hague Convention, but that he would call the Assembly's attention to the fact that this money was in their treasury which didn't

belong there. As soon as the Assembly met, the governor called the matter to their attention, and an Act was passed remitting to the Lend-a-Hand Society, which I have the honor to represent, the money which had been paid as duty. That it should be ordered that that particular money should come back to us as the first result of the Hague Conference was not only amusing, but of very great interest to us, who had for a year represented the Boston Committee on International Arbitration. I would not tell that story but for the much more important fact—which has not, I think, received the attention which it deserves—that within the last fortnight (I think through the influence of our friends one of whom has been speaking here to-night) the United States of America and the United States of Mexico have agreed to refer to the tribunal of The Hague a matter which has been in dispute between them for many years,—the celebrated "Pious Fund" case,—and it is to the honor of these countries that this will be the first case brought before that tribunal.

Our friend who has spoken in a way so interesting has pointed out the duty of every person in this room. He has pointed out the duty of a very much larger range of persons who are asking what their duty is in the great cause of Peace. It is our business to hold up to the attention of the public men of the country the details that have been brought before us here, and to see that these things are put through. It is the reward that we owe Mr. Buchanan that we all of us make it our business to see that the government carries out in their details such matters as have been brought before us to-night.

### Address of Edwin D. Mead.

#### The Folly of the Present Great Armaments— Views of the Late Jean de Bloch.

It was thought to be fitting, even imperative, that the Peace Society should not come together at this time and break up without some word being spoken in memory of the distinguished servant of peace whom we have been mourning in these last weeks—Jean de Bloch. It seems to me that no book ever written in the cause of the peace and order of the world, save Hugo Grotius's great work alone, has rendered such influential practical service as Bloch's "Future of War." I am glad that the privilege is given me of speaking this commemorative word and, on behalf of all of you, paying tribute to him whom we honor so much.

Dr. Hale has told us of the silence with which the Supreme Court, now recognized as such a unique and potent factor in our Constitution, came into operation. It has been with the same silence that the first case has come before the Hague tribunal—a case to which we are grateful that our country is a party. The United States and Mexico were the only American States which were represented at the Hague Conference; none of the Central or South American Republics had representatives there. Yet the United States never forgot that she was in a measure the custodian of the interests of the states of all America, and she was thinking constantly (Mr. White and her other representatives were thinking) of the interests of these sister Republics as the work of the Conference went on.